175 in everything. Much less intelligent than Moussa, he was none the less a faithful chief who knew how to make himself respected.

He married twice and had seven children.

175 643 Meslah ag Amayas is a second cousin of Akhamouk. He is a grandson of the former Aménokal Aïtarel and a second cousin of Mohamed ag Ourzig and Attici ag Amellal. The tobol thus came down in the branch of Amennaï, the third son of Sidi ag Mohamed el Kheir, for want of male descendants in the branch of Heguier. This follows the rules of matriarchal succession.

Although Moussa ag Amastan's sister, Rakhma, who married Anaba ag Amellal, brother of Aménokal Attici, left a son named Louki, he was bypassed by the Imochar as weak-minded.

651 [643] The aménokal levies the tioussé on the Imrad and assimilated vassals. Some of them also pay dues /Fr. droits de redevance/ to the descendants of the old noble families. Thus the Dag Rali pay an annual due to the Inemba Kel Tahat, and the Ait Loaïen to the Inemba Kel Emori. The latter levy four percent of the loads of grain brought back from the Sudan by the Ait Loaïen.

[178] ● 161 But these duties levied are tending to disappear gradually with the extinction of the old Ahaggar families, some of which are no longer represented by more than a few individuals.

631 644 [643] [582] The Kel Rela tribe has been gathering strength in a singular way for a century. It is all powerful by the number of its representatives, and matriarchy has only accentuated this situation. Indeed, since only Kel Rela women are capable of giving birth to an aménokal, young men from other noble tribes seek alliances with them, abandoning the women of their own tribe. This new blood has given the Kel Rela a certain physical vigor by preventing them from becoming impoverished through too close and too repeated inbred alliances.

631 a very ancient tribe, the Isbèten, who were the autochthons of the Ahaggar and whom the Dăg Rali would have found in Ătakor when they came to settle there.

After the battle at Tit where they lost more than 100 fighters, the Dăg Râli still numbered 60 warriors. The 1938 census gives 1, 090 persons, 334 of them men, including the Iklan. This increase is quite rare among the Tuareg and reflects their wealth and the improvement of their living conditions since the French occupation.

They nomadize in the western part of the Koudia, which is their absolute fief where no other fraction is admitted.

/192/ On the east, the boundaries of the lands over which they range are fixed by the right bank of the Tamanrasset wadi and the Interkadène wadi as far as Ideles; on the south by the southern zone of the Tahalra as far as Tin Dahar; on the west by In Eker; and on the north by the line from In Eker to Hirhafok to Ideles.

631 651 The Dăg Râli pay a tribute of ten bags of dates or sorghum to the aménokal; in addition, each family which sends a caravan to the Sudan pays him a small bag of sorghum. If the pastures are good, they add several "botta" of melted butter and the milk of twenty ewes. In the case of a successful raid, they pay the nobles half of the ewes.

631 233 556 439 The Dăg Râli are now the richest people in the Ahaggar. They own more than 1, 200 goats and more than 1, 000 camels. Thanks to their beasts of burden, they can take many very remunerative caravans to the Sudan and to the Tidikelt. They hold in common escheated flocks which are called Edjeré-n-boutelma. When the pastures are insufficient to feed all their livestock, they entrust their camels to the Irréguénaten who graze them on the Saharo-Sudanese border.

631 241 423 Since they are very open-minded, they were in favor of cultivation in the centers of the Ahaggar, and at the present time they possess lands at Ilâman, Tarahananet, Tamanrasset, Abălessa, Iglen, Tăfârit, I-n-Ămegel, and Silet, which Negroes cultivate for them. The aménokal has granted them a certain number of palm trees in the Silet oasis which formerly belonged to the Tăitok.

173 Ăgouh-en-Tĕhlé means "reed people." Legend has it that they
631 were forced to eat the roots of that plant during their flight from the Aïr. Their chief was then a man of Herculean size named Assékal ag Louka; the legend says that his feet were so big that when his pursuers saw the footprints, they preferred to abandon the chase.

The Ăgouh-en-Tĕhlé claim to be originally from Mecca where their remote ancestor received a camel from the Prophet. He was supposed to drink only the milk of the camel, but he committed the sin of killing it. Therefore, they had to flee, and after long years of wandering, they settled in Aïr.

At the time when the Imrad were divided up (1750), they were part of the Issandaten. The Ăgouh-en-Tĕhlé went to the Kel Rela, and the other fraction, the Tégéhé-n-Éfis, went to the Taïtok.

631 The land over which they range borders on that of the Dăg Râli. It goes from Tamanrasset to Ourchi wadi, then from the Koudia as far as Afrahouhine and Tamaghine.

[651] They pay a tribute to the aménokal, the same size as that of the Dăg Râli, but they do not share captured goats and sheep with him. They are currently allied with the Dăg Râli and the Relaiddîn.

[648 They took sides against us in the battle of Tit where they had about ten men killed. During the insurrection of 1916-1918, they
669] rose up, and their women even seized thirty mehari /dromedaries/ belonging to the meharist company at Fort Motylinski. On the other hand, they did not take part in the revolt directly and were the first to ask for mercy.

[161] /195/ Totaling 60 men in 1905, the tribe numbers about 150 persons at the present time.

The Ăgouh-en-Tĕhlé own nearly a thousand camels, which they
[233] graze on the Saharo-Sudanese borders, and 1,200 to 1,400 goats.
[651] Every year they pay a tribute to the amenokal of 12 bags of dates, 6 pots of butter, and the usufruct of 10 goats. Most of the cultivated
[423 land and the foggara of Tarhaouaout and Tahifet belongs to them,
241] and they have gardens at Ămsel, Tamanrasset, and Talan-Tédit.

114 closer look and find out just what really does go on in the bosom of such a seemingly impossible community. The best general source on the Ahaggar Tuareg is probably Blanguernon (1955), while Benhazera (1908) gives some valuable demographic data and Lhote (1947 and 1955) supplies a mass of miscellaneous details. But all these works are in French: Rodd (1926), writing in English, gives a fairly good general picture of the Tuareg as a whole although he deals primarily with the Aïr.

101 The Tuareg of the Sahara proper, as we have defined it, are divided into three confederations, those of the Tassili n Ajjer, the Ahaggar and the Adrar n Ifoghas, distributed in that order from Northeast to Southwest.
●[161] There are probably only about 10,000 or 11,000 of them in all, for most of the Tuareg, some 140,000 strong, now live outside our area in the Aïr and the northern central Sudan. We will take the Ahaggar confederation as our Tuareg socio-economic sample because this group not only seems to have remained the least affected by foreign influence but has also been the most extensively studied and described, and because it is the only one with which the author is personally familiar.

101 The Tuareg as a whole used to range over
166 an enormous territory extending roughly as far north as Ouargla, eastward to Gatroun,
131 westward to a bit beyond a line running from Aoulef to Timbuctoo, and southward to below the Niger Bend and the northern border of Nigeria. The eastern, northern and western limits of this range have been slowly driven back over the last few centuries, first by ever stronger Arab pressure from the East and North and then by the gradual southward extension of French and, more recently, Italian control. These steadily increasing pressures have produced a steadily increasing though fluctuating flow of the Tuareg population southward from the Desert proper, through the Aïr and the Adrar n Ifoghas and into the Sudan. Under the stimulus of disaster in one form or another, this flow has occasionally become torrential for brief periods, as when, following the suppression of the 1916–18 rebellion, a great wave of Aïr Tuareg moved into British Nigeria (Rodd, 1926, p. 361) and the main body of the Taïtoq tribe left their home range in the western Ahaggar for the

101 country just to the West of Agadès (Lhote,
166 1955, p. 217). These movements were but the
131 latest major episodes in a general southwest-
ward drift of which we have evidence going back at least as far as the 8th century (Rodd, 1926, p. 376) when the weight of the great Arab invasions first began to be felt.

631 The military administrative unit known as the *Annexe du Hoggar* covers roughly the territory that lies between Amguid and In Guezzam, and Djanet and Ouallen, and corresponds fairly closely to the present normal range of
[101] the Ahaggar Tuareg. This area is about the size of New York State, Pennsylvania, Virginia and Maryland put together (146,300 square miles, with nearly 31,000,000 inhabitants in 1950), and supports a total native population of probably about 12,000, roughly the
[161] same as that of Athol or Swampscott, Massachusetts, or Gainesville, Georgia. Cambridge, Massachusetts, has more than ten times as many permanent residents. Twice as many people work in the Pentagon Building alone as live in the entire Ahaggar.

162 Accurate population figures for nomadic peoples are always very hard to obtain, and in the Ahaggar it is practically impossible to arrive at anything better than very rough approximations. We are probably safe in assuming, however, that there are about 4,400 Tuareg and 4,000 Negro slaves in the area, plus some 3,500 sedentary Haratin, a few small families of smiths, and a very small handful of Arab shopkeepers from the Northwest who have settled in the largest sedentary centers.

197 The Tuareg speak Tamaheq, which is a form of Senhadjan Berber.

619 **Social Organization.** The Tuareg are divided into confederations as we have seen, and these are divided into tribes which are subdivided
565 into clans and the latter into fractions. The nomadic population is divided socially into

[534] [a] A hemispherical drum made of half a big gourd with a skin stretched over the opening.

551 [b] Tuareg tribal and personal names are spelled in
104 as many different ways as are the geographical names of the Sahara. The most common variations are found in the alternative use of *dj* and *g* (or *gu*), *sh* (or *ch*) and *h*, and *gh* (or *r'*) and *r*, all of which sometimes reflect local differences in pronunciation and sometimes the personal preferences of various transliterators.

622 [c] A chief may be succeeded by his younger brother, as the Amenokal Younès was succeeded by Guémama (commonly written *ag Mama*) in 1820 or

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Ahaggar

	Noble Clans		Vassal Clans	Iseḳḳemaren Clans	
The Tegehe-Mellet Drum-Group	*Tegehe Mellet*	33	*Kel Terhe* (part of the Ait Loaien clan of the Kel Ḫela drum-group).	*Kel Terouit* *Kel Ouhet*	60 70
Noble Clans Without Vassals	*Kel Ehan Mellen*		The Iseḳḳemaren clans are said formerly to have been vassals of this clan.		
	Itadzin		Very few in number and mainly living at the small cultivation centre of Tit.		

The Kel Ḫela Drum-Group in Ahaggar.

[161] The Ahaggar Tuareg according to statistics from 1950 number 4,611 individuals (Lhote 1955, p. 157) and comprise 26 clans. In addition to the noble class termed *Ihaggaren* (sing. *Ahaggar*), and the vassal class termed *Imrad*, (sing. *Amrid*) or *Kel Oulli* (sing. *Agg Oulli*), there is also a class termed *Iseḳḳemaren* (sing. *Aseḳḳemar*), who can be considered vassals of a somewhat different status. The religious class *Inaslemen* (sing. *Anaslem*) is in Ahaggar represented by a few families without clan organization.

There are five noble clans but only three of them have vassals. There are in other words three drum-groups *(ettebel*, pl. *ettebelen)*, namely those of Kel Ḫela, Taitoḳ, and Tegehe Mellet. The Kel Ḫela group is by far the most important, and its chief with the title of Amenokal is the supreme head of all three groups which constitute a sort of federation named *tegehe*. In rare cases when the Tuareg of Ahaggar joined forces against foreign Tuareg groups, e.g. the Tuareg of Tassili-n-Ajjer, the Amenokal was the war-leader of all three drum-groups. But in the past he had often little authority over the two other drum-groups For long periods of the 19th century he had severe troubles with the Taitoḳ, who had acquired a practically independent position, and it seems as if he had no rights over the land inhabited by the Taitoḳ drum-group. The Amenokal as well as the two other drum-chiefs *(Amṛar*, pl. *Imṛaren)* were elected by the vassals of their respective drum-groups. It is true that the members of the noble clan had a certain influence, but – contrary to former opinions on the matter – they did not have any direct voice in elections. The Amenokal was and is ceremoniously installed by a Tuareg of the Iseḳḳemaren class who provides him with a new veil or turban. The two other drum-chiefs should be installed in this way by the Amenokal, who also undertook the installation of all vassal chiefs within his own drum-group. The installment of vassal chiefs within the two other drum-groups were undertaken by their respective drum-chiefs. In the present chapter I shall describe the drum-group of the Kel Ḫela in some detail.

[Text continues on p. 104]

262 /107 cont./ buy them. Rice is considered to be a remedy. In the way of preserved foods, one may see the Tuareg eat sardines in oil and jam and use canned milk. All of these foods are not accepted with enthusiasm; they are too expensive, [181] and the Tuareg seem to be truly conservative in food matters, as well as in the whole of their customs.

They drink water, milk, and tea, the latter being of 272 relatively recent importation but in the way of becoming a necessity. There is no need to mention again the ritual that surrounds the making and drinking of tea.

Coffee is scarcely drunk except with the French; when it [273] is taken in the tent, it is as a remedy. Need I say that the Tuareg drink no alcohol and that at the present time there is no exception ot this rule?

Public Health

• 161 It appears to be practically impossible to construct a demographic table for the Ahaggar: figures for the years /108/ before 1947 are rare and suspect; they give an acceptable approximation but do not give an exact picture of population movements.

In this field one must then use figures from recent censuses and observations of the tribes that may be easily visited in trying prudently to project these observations to the whole of the population.

In 1948 the count was:	6, 048	nomads
	4, 240	harratin
	10, 288	
1949	6, 013	nomads
	4, 285	harratin
	10, 298	

The population figure for the Ahaggar seems to be fairly stationary (even if one does not rely exclusively on the figures

161 /108 cont./ cited above). The birth rate is not very high, but it is greater than the low death rate. Infant mortality is practically impossible to verify.

162 In 1948 there were 1, 028 men counted for 1, 202 women, which would seem tosupport the widespread opinion that relative to other peoples there are more men than women among the Tuareg. One must be careful, however, not to make this type of affirmation without having previously examined all the causes that may produce such a state of affairs. It is almost certain that the Tuareg control their birth rate. The 162 847 chief of the tribe may forbid births or may recommend them according to the number of members of the tribe. This measure seems wise in a country which can scarcely support the existing population. The situation is such as it would be if the Tuareg had found, empirically, the ideal number of individuals able to be supported by their soil and were wise enough to try to maintain this number.

The men interrogated on this subject avoided the question, saying that this concerns their women and that they do not know the methods employed. The women are equally reticent, not to say mute.

/109/ Some of them claim to abort by drinking decoctions of plants. The French doctors know the qualities of these plants and think that this medication would be insufficient to produce the desired effect. By being patient, I was able to learn a method which, although dangerous, should be effective; I got this information from only one woman and have never been able to confirm it, as it is difficult to touch on these subjects directly. The women supposedly use a probe that they make from a "stone" called "azarif" ("cheb" in Arabic), which is of alum; they make this the size of a slate pencil. 162 This probe dissolves after having produced a mechanical effect. 165 847 It is likely that many women fall victim to these maneuvers, for in questioning the Tuareg one discovers a rather high female mortality rate at a relatively young age. Perhaps we may see

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

167 tion into Ayr many Tuareg of that region emigrated, and some of them settled as far away as Darfur
[649] where they and their descendants still live near El Fasher. Another emigration took place after the
162 Tuareg revolt against the French in 1917. Many Tuareg of the *Kel Ayr* and the *Iwllemmeden* fled to
Northern Nigeria to settle in villages and towns around Kano and Katsena. According to Rodd about
30.000 Ayr Tuareg fled to Nigeria after the revolt (Rodd 1926a, p. 361).

161 According to statistics for the period 1933–38 the total number of Tuareg living in the Algerian Sahara and to the south in the republics of Niger and Soudan is estimated by Lhote to be about 240.000.

162 They were divided among the main groups as follows:—

Kel Ahaggar	4.254
Kel Ajjer	1.508
Kel Adraɣ	4.223
Kel Ayr & Kel Geres	27.765
Iwllemmeden	161.160
Tengerregif	40.000

162 These figures need certain corrections. Thus the *Kel Ajjer* are more numerous than indicated by the
161 above figure, which does not include Tuareg of that group living in Libya. On the other hand the
[567] figure for *Iwllemmeden* Tuareg is much too high; it includes about 94.000 negroid slaves which should be deducted, as slaves are not included in the other figures. Nevertheless, Lhote believes that the actual number of free Tuareg is about 300.000 as the birth rate is on the increase. Thus statistics for 1950 indicate that there are 4.611 fairskinned Tuareg in Ahaggar (Lhote 1955a, p. 157). Nicolas assumes that there are about 500.000 Sudanese Tuareg (Nicolas 1950a, p. Avertissement). This figure is, no doubt, too high. If we assume that there are in all 300.000 Tuareg, we find that the two northern groups *Kel Ajjer & Kel Ahaggar* living in the true desert country constitute about three per cent of the total Tuareg population.*

197 The Tuareg language is known as *tamahaq* in the two northern groups, *tamacheq* in the south. It has four main branches or dialects, namely 1) *tahaggart* spoken by the *Kel Ahaggar* and the *Kel Ajjer*; 2) *tadraq* spoken by the Tuareg of *Adraɣ-n-Foras*; 3) *tayrt* spoken by the Ayr Tuareg and the *Kel Geres*; 4) *tawllemmet* spoken by the *Iwllemmeden* and other Sudanese Tuareg. Grammatically these four dialects are closely related, but there are important distinctions in pronunciation and vocabulary. The dialects are on the whole mutually intelligible.

212 The alphabet known as *tifinaɣ* is known in all Tuareg groups. It is related to the ancient Libyan script. Several authors have stated that *tifinaɣ* is not so widely known among the modern Tuareg as it was in the past. It is true that certain Northern Tuareg have adopted the Arabic alphabet, but it is very difficult even nowadays to find adult Tuareg who do not know their proper script which is also widely used for letters. This, anyway, is true of the Tuareg groups I have visited, and it must be added that I have never found any proof of the statement so frequently seen in literature that the alphabet is

* Considering the statistics for 1933–38 (240.000 ÷ 94.000) the total number of true Tuareg in 1950 would appear to be lower than 300.000.

Caravan Trading

Caravan trading of the Sahara has suffered severely from the European colonisation of Northern Africa. The establishment of ports and railways in the Sudanese area and the abolition of the slave-trade have brought to an end the large caravans passing through the desert. In recent times another heavy blow has been struck against the caravans, for transportation is more and more taken over by trucks which can easily pass through the open desert country. Many pastoralists of Northern Africa suffer from the decline of their trade, which for centuries has been an important stabilizing factor for their subsistence. The decline of caravan trading is also strongly felt in the oases, which have played a very important part as trading posts or trading stations. Some of these oases have far fewer inhabitants nowadays than in the past, and it is most difficult for many sedentary people of the oases to exist. The decline of the trade has been felt also among the pastoral Tuareg. But caravan trading is still important to most of them, and many of them could not support life without it. To understand the important role of caravan trading we have once more to return to the economic values of subsistence activities.

CARAVAN TRADING OF THE AHAGGAR TUAREG

The Ahaggar Tuareg cannot live exclusively on stock-breeding products all the year round – not even in good years when annual pasture is well developed in autumn and early winter. Even in a good year the nomads mainly eat vegetable food throughout the hot season, and some bread or porridge is also consumed during the period of abundant milk yields. It is true that nomads can subsist entirely on milk for long periods, and that some people do so for weeks or even months. Galan says that pastoralists of of Ahaggar, when they live entirely on milk, can do with four litres a day per person (Galan 1951, p. 231). But it is estimated by the Ayr Tuareg that they need about eight or ten litres a day to live entirely on milk, and they all claim that they get weary from constant milk drinking. They say that though they do not feel hungry when they live exclusively on milk they experience a peculiar, unpleasant feeling in the stomach. The relative importance of stock-breeding products (mainly milk) and vegetable food (mainly wheat, millet, and dates) may be seen from the diagram Fig. 151.[1] In a good year there is normally some possibility of collecting wild seeds for bread and porridge, but the Tuareg claim that they cannot easily cover their need of vegetable products even in a year when milk is abundant. And milk is not always abundant. We can estimate that for two or three good years

[p. 209]

[1] [cf. p. 216]

3: ?Paques--13 S-4 (no date) 1954 FA8 Bambara FA8
Touareg MS25

B II. Demographic Situation of the Nomadic Population
T● [in the Sudan]
161

		Moors		Touareg	
1940:	Gao	9,494		57,945	
	Goundam	2,885	23,322	40,757	139,236
	Timbuktu	10,943		40,934	
1944:	Gao	18,812		74,357	
	Goundam	2,505	34,073	16,105	128,057
	Timbuktu	12,756		37,595	
1959:	Gao	19,078		77,640	
	Goundam	2,743	37,723	17,004	153,246
	Timbuktu	15,502		58,599	

B III. General Movement of the Population in the Past Ten Years
161

	Sedentary and Semi-nomadic	Nomadic
1940	2,750,950	163,000
1941	2,790,000	
1942	2,840,000	
1943	2,870,000	162,000
1944	2,900,000	
1945	2,800,000	
1946	2,810,000	
1947	2,840,000	
1948	3,125,000	
1949	3,237,000	
1950	3,337,000	190,000
Total increase	586,000	27,000
Rate of increase	21%	16%

An age profile of the population. The censuses of future years will no doubt permit a better study of the country's demography.